

## Interview with Fernando Arenas (Manuel Perez Martinez), Secretary General of the PCE (r)

---

Published: 1977 republished <https://centremlm.be/Le-P-C-E-m-l-et-le-F-R-A-P-en-Espagne> now [Long live Maoism! \(vivelemaoisme.org\)](https://vivelemaoisme.org)

Transcription, Editing and Markup: Paul Saba and Sam Richards

Copyright: This work is in the Public Domain under the Creative Commons Common Deed. You can freely copy, distribute and display this work; as well as make derivative and commercial works.

Please credit the Encyclopedia of Anti Revisionism On-Line as your source, include the url to this work

---

### **How and why could the arrest in Benidorm have happened?**



The arrest of the Party's Central Committee is the end of a gigantic police operation which began a long time ago in which participated, in addition to the Political Police Brigades, the Intelligence Services of the Army.

There has been no "snitching", or even an infiltration, as has been suggested. Contrary to what some "scholars" seem to assume, it is not as easy to infiltrate our Party, although it is true that this has already happened to us.

We have been aware of the plans of the police for a long time, the aim of which was to disband the Party before the end of the summer (they called this operation "vacation 77").

This is why, I want to assure you that we had taken all the measures within our reach to avoid it. We were however arrested. And

that's what matters now.

The first and main cause of this arrest, it must be sought in Algeria, that's the truth. Our Party trusted the Algerians and they sold us for 30 denarii.

For some time, the Algerian government has been trying to break the tripartite agreement on the Sahara and Madrid took advantage of this fact to get the Algerians the contacts they needed to find us.

The Spanish Government had an imperative need to put an end to the democratic and revolutionary movement as quickly as possible.

In the long run, the police would have managed to stop us, but it would have been difficult for them to do so in a short time.

The infiltrations they attempted and the numerous arrests of recent times have given them only meager results.

On the other hand, we knew from previous arrests that the police were very sure of reaching their objectives within the set time limit. There is no doubt for us that this assurance was guaranteed by the excessive trust we had placed in the "friends" of Algeria.

We could not distrust the leaders of a progressive country. We trusted them, they couldn't betray us ... and they betrayed us!

This is the trap into which we have fallen. We could give some specific details, but we do not consider it opportune or necessary.

This is a lesson that we communists in Spain will never forget.

As for the way in which the arrest was carried out, it is worth telling.

Imagine an apartment of about one hundred square meters, fifteen people sleeping there piled up, the explosion in the house of many gas bombs and tear gas canisters, all accompanied by machine gun bursts ...

There was no more than one cubic centimeter of oxygen left, we could not see anything at all and we did not know if there were injured or dead.

We could only hear shots, asphyxiated coughs and the worried words of certain comrades. And the police were aware of the presence of a child who, at that time, became the major concern of all.

A few seconds passed and since it was impossible to stay in the house, we decided to leave, absolutely convinced that we would not reach the door alive.

There we were hit, but we kept our heads up, prepared for the worst.

### **Is it true that in the apartment were the plans of the Moncloa palace and that an attack was planned against Suarez?**

In the house, there were only Party political documents and reports and we were only preparing an agitation plan in favor of boycotting the "police stations" of companies (union elections) and to develop the solidarity movement towards political prisoners. Nothing more.

The history of the plans of Moncloa and others like them were invented, with the agreement of Suarez, there is no doubt, by a review which for a long time carries out a campaign of slander and disinformation on the PCE (r ) and GRAPO.

The intention of this review is not only to classify us as "terrorists" and "madmen", when their attempt to make us endorse the label of the far right has failed, but also to fuel the campaign for fear of the "military coup" by which they threaten to push back the domesticated left even more so that it accepts, without complaining, the decisions of the ultra-reactionary Government of Suarez.

### **What about the history of the sniper rifle, the infrared device, and military uniforms?**

I do not see, unless they have confused with the broom! because there they could not find the slightest "weapon", except the plastic rifle which we had given to Daniel, the son of Cerdan Calixto and Encarnacion Martinez.

The story of the uniforms is another lie of the police.

You will easily understand that if the Party had these uniforms in its possession, we would not keep them in a rented apartment for a meeting.

In Benidorm, everyone wore only the usual clothes of "vacationers".

### **Was the meeting in question an enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee, the Executive Committee or the GRAPOs?**

It was an ordinary meeting of the Central Committee.

As in the good old days, the Spanish press made itself the spokesperson for the notes and information of the police without adding a single reference on its part, without showing the slightest doubt, despite the many and deep contradictions contained in this news .

They spoke of the arrest of the "GRAPO staff", but they did not publish photos of the arsenal which generally accompanies police reports; evidence of "terrorism" did not appear anywhere.

Perhaps they did not want to further exploit their brilliant service? The Government knew very well, as did the editors of the newspapers, that in Benidorm the Central Committee of the PCE

(r) had just been arrested and that there, the police had not found a single weapon, nor anything that either in relation to the military actions that are attributed to us.

It is also for this reason that they were able to arrest us so easily, because the GRAPOs, from what I understand, and experience has proven, do not allow themselves to be stopped, they oppose resistance and this is because they are armed.

I imagine that when someone is armed, it is for something, it will not be to use his weapon as an ornament.

This is further proof which confirms what I have already said: in Benidorm, the Central Committee of the PCE (r) was arrested and it is completely false to say that we were "the State Major of GRAPO".

This meeting was the first to be celebrated by the Central Committee elected at the Second Party Congress, which took place in June.

### **After the arrest, how did the events unfold?**

Well. The way we were arrested, some of us had already gotten used to the idea that we had put together a whole scene to make us perform the "walk".

This impression was reaffirming itself, as time passed, until the moment when we entered the jails of the DGS [General Directorate of Security, in Madrid].

Until that time, many hours passed which the police took the opportunity to do with us a kind of psychological torture experiment, in order to bring us down morally.

They guarded us all day, blindfolded, and around us they erected a wall of silence.

We only heard the sounds of engines, creaking doors, breeching of machine guns ...

This in Alicante, where they kept us for 8 hours, standing, handcuffed, in a sort of garage.

Some of us challenged this type of torture, denouncing it and encouraging the comrades, which drew the fury of the "grays" [the police] on our heads and kidneys.

From Alicante, we were transferred to the DGS; in a large deployment of force and in inhuman conditions.

During the interrogations, despite the sadistic tortures to which some of my comrades were subjected, they were unable to obtain anything.

All the statements were made on the basis of information obtained under torture during previous arrests of Party activists or supporters, statements which have no value but which the judge nevertheless considered sufficient to imprison us.

Realize how false this staging was: after the 72 hour legal deadline and since the declarations made and signed by all of us did not allow them to put us on trial or imprison us, the judge ordered that we let us again be taken to the DGS in order to make a "supplement" to the declaration.

We are weak, but this weakness does not scare us.

The quality, the proletarian and revolutionary character of our Party, the political militancy of all its members cannot be doubted by any serious person.

You have to take into account that we are not a revisionist or social democratic party where everyone is just voting or participating in a party.

Our Party is a revolutionary force in development, with a program and plans to follow.

In this sense we are far superior to any "mass of militant" social democrats.

Currently our forces are small, but they are well organized and they extend to the main industrial and agrarian zones of the country and in all nationalities.

We are aware of our weakness with regard to the enormous political tasks which we propose to carry out, but we know that this will not always be the case, that our influence grows day by day and that it will not take long before the PCE (r) does not gain the confidence and support that the Communist Party of José Diaz enjoyed among workers at another time.

It is all a question of time to know how to wait and to work hard and patiently, without ever abandoning the political line and the work started.

So far we have managed to give the movement its first impulse, which is always the most difficult.

**During 1977, the arrests of PCE (r) members were constant and very heavy, how do you analyze this fact?**

This is a good time to answer this question because, even within the Party, this problem is not yet clear.

It is true that during 1977 numerous and important arrests of activists and Party organizations occurred, which ended with the arrest of the Central Committee.

This is a very serious issue to which we are paying due attention.

Each of these arrests happened in a different way and for different reasons. We will not go into details.

What interests us is to know the first and last cause of all these arrests, and to see if, really, they could have been avoided or, to what extent we can avoid them.

To be clear, we will give an example: during 1975, FRAP also had numerous arrests.

Now, on the other hand, for a long time, there has been none that could be described as important. What is the cause of this phenomenon? Why are we arresting our Party activists and not those of FRAP?

Is it because the latter have learned to do things right and that we are doing them worse every time? I think that if the FRAP has not had any major arrests lately, this is indisputably due to the fact that this organization deserted the revolutionary camp.

It is obvious and the same goes for all the other groups or parties which consider themselves revolutionary communists.

And if they are not arrested it is not because they would do things as any communist or revolutionary organization should do.

But that does not justify our arrests, which find their cause in our work itself. Because we do it wrong?

It is possible, however, as far as we endeavor, we are unable to find serious operating errors which could explain the arrests and we would be happy to accept any criticism or suggestion made to us on this subject.

So we are forced to conclude by saying that the arrests of militants of our Party, like the losses and battles lost by any fighting army are, in general, inevitable, they are part of a phenomenon inherent in any struggle.

We have worked and we will continue to do so to remove from our ranks any cult of spontaneity and narrowness of view, we have worked tirelessly to create a combat organization, real professionals at the service of the revolution and the cause of the proletariat.

No one can blame us for neglecting this very important aspect of our business, and no one can say that we have rushed without it, that we are given a single example of neglect or carelessness.

I said that arrests are inevitable in any Party which encourages and practices the class struggle in a consistent way, but one should not deduce from this that these arrests must paralyze its activity.

If this were so, if after each arrest the activity of the Party disappeared for a long time, then those who believe in the omnipotence of the police would have to be proved right.

In the example we gave above, not only did all of the activity of FRAP and its protectors disappear, but when they reappeared, they did so legally and have already joined the torturers.

Is this the case with our Party?

No, and it can never be, because each arrest brings the Party to life with more force and reaffirms it in its political line.

**After this blow suffered, can we consider the PCE (r) dead? (The interviewee laughs and responds with confidence)**

How many times have they killed PCE (r) and left us for dead? And yet, we have been resurrected as many times as they disorganized us, more vigorous than before.

It is for this reason that when we read in the press an affirmation of this kind, a burst of laughter shakes our ranks from one end to the other.

There is no doubt that the arrest of the Central Committee has been one of the hardest blows received for the PCE (r) so far.

But, inevitably, experience will prove how much it has affected us. Believe me, our arrest will do more harm to the Government than to ourselves.

You will be surprised by what I tell you. When we arrived in prison, the comrades who were there received us with a great embrace, but they could not hide their sadness.

Like us, they were already used to being arrested, feeling the effects of other arrests of Party activists and, also, seeing the final results of these arrests.

But the Central Committee of the Party had seemed too strong to them.

But what was their surprise to see us arrive all animated and full of optimism.

"It is not possible !" some of them told us; "but you are oblivious!" they cried, taking their heads in their hands?

Very quickly, on learning that the Party activity was continuing on the street, the formation of a new provisional Central Committee, the normal publication of our publications and other Party activities, as the press declared. - even during the events in Cadiz, they were victims of contagion.

**Are there not more political frameworks in prisons than outside?**

It depends on which point of view you take. Most of the Party's "old guard" is now in prison, if you can put it that way.

This is indeed a capital of great value.

But we must take into account the fact that this old guard did not spend his time running to the right and left or twiddling his thumbs, but that he did his utmost in rebuilding the Party, with all what it means ; it created an organic structure, it drew a political line; it has strengthened ties with the masses, it has set an example and established a school.

If we consider the question from this angle, we will immediately understand that the vast majority of Party cadres, at least potential cadres, are outside the prisons.

We have full confidence in them.

If it were not so, what would all our work have been for? ...

I am not like Carrillo who keeps repeating that he has no replacement and that he is essential to his Party.

For what he has done and continues to do, it is quite possible that he does not have a replacement. Our case is different.

We have and will always have many replacements and continuators.

And despite the regret of the big bourgeoisie, we will get out of prison because the working class and the broad popular masses will set us free.

Of that we are also sure.

**At the moment, what does PCE (r) represent quantitatively and qualitatively?**

By analyzing the experience acquired during the last five years - we must take into account the fact that it was not until 1977 that we had arrests - we will be able to realize the correctness of what I am putting forward. .

In summary, the practice of class struggle with all its consequences does not weaken the revolutionary organization, on the contrary, it strengthens it and allows for a greater accumulation of experience.

**Can you explain, once and for all, without resorting to the usual topic, the real relationships between PCE (r) and GRAPOs and how they are established?**

I don't know what you mean by "usual topical".



The PCE (r) has always declared its independence from GRAPO or any other organization and until now, despite all their attempts, the Government and the police have failed to identify us in what whether at GRAPO.

At most they managed to establish the relationship of some PCE (r) activists with this organization, which is easy if we take into account the fact that we reaffirm at every moment this independence, which surely has become a "topical ", but what can we do!

This is the truth, and to demonstrate the contrary, evidence is needed, because accusations abound and are very easy to launch.

The government and the police had an excellent opportunity to demonstrate what they accuse us of when the Central Committee was arrested and the many documents they found in our possession.

And I will tell you more: they have seized the acts recorded on magnetic tape of all the debates of our II Congress.

You will agree with me that all this material is more than enough to accuse us.

**And do you know what the judge had to use to send us to prison?**

Well, it must have emerged from the police archives an internal pamphlet of GRAPOs, of which we were completely ignorant of the existence before our arrival at the DGS, in which reference was made to the relations of this organization with the Party. That's all.

And, if you want my opinion, these groups, which do not want to separate from the people, need political leadership and they think they have found it in our Party, in its guidelines and its instructions.

On the other hand, the fact that the PCE (r) was the first and almost the only one to support them, that we did not join the demagogic campaign orchestrated by the Government and that some of our activists entered it to fight shoulder to shoulder with these anti-fascist fighters, just like many others have joined popular organizations, all this allows them to feel closely united with us and to accept some of our advice and our proposals.

But the decision and the real and effective leadership of these organizations, in this case GRAPOs, is something that does not depend on us.

There is no doubt that we exert a certain influence on them, our desire is above all to remove these organizations from anarchistic or purely military tendencies and, of course, we have joined together and we will continue to join together and support all their actions.

The criticism that we have made or that we will have of them is something that we are not going to communicate to the common enemy.

We understand that these relations are the cause of many setbacks for the Government and the reaction in general. But what can we do about it?

They would like the GRAPOs to become a “far-right group”, because they would then have the guarantee of being able to control them to use them against the workers' and popular movement.

We must rejoice that this is not so - as we have many proofs - and that the GRAPOs are a truly independent organization which serves the people and readily admits our militants and the councils of the PCE (r ).

But the reaction does not want to admit in any case such a simple truth, often repeated and demonstrated: the GRAPOs are the GRAPOs and the PCE (r) is the PCE (r).

### **Who is Arenas?**

Now political biographies are in fashion. As far as I am concerned, I do not think it is worth taking up the precious space offered by your journal to talk about such unimportant things.

But since you ask me and since all kinds of lies and slanders have been launched on the PCE (r) and its leaders, I will answer you.

I consider myself a militant communist worker who knows well - for having lived it in his family, in his work and in the street - the condition of his class; who from a very young age, still a child, began to sympathize with socialist ideas and who, later, came to be fully convinced that only communism will bring a solution to all the sufferings and problems.

In a few words, I am like many others, a post-war product that still lasts in our country.

I was born in one of these homes like thousands of others, without bread and without light that the "glorious" uprising left us.

My parents emigrated from Morocco to Madrid in 1957, with what they had on their backs and a large family.

After wandering the streets for many days and knocking on a large number of doors, the Public Assistance granted us a 10 square meter barrack in the "Pozo del Tio Raimundo".

My parents still live there as well as some of my younger brothers. My two daughters, 6 and 8 years old, also live in a "Pozo" hut with their mother.

I actively campaigned in the Carrillist party. After my military service, I was convinced that Carrillo and his group deceived the workers in the most miserable way possible.

It was then very hard for me to abandon this party for which, with my limited capacities, I had done so much and in which I had deposited all my hopes for the emancipation of the working class.

But I did not want to continue to be accomplice of Carrillo and, with all the consequences that this represents, I broke with revisionism.

Since then, I have put the same determination and the same ardour in fighting the Carrillist party as I had put in defending it.

I learned a lot during this period.

Later, I became part of the left movement, also fighting opportunist and petty-bourgeois political and ideological tendencies.

In this movement of groups and "parties" that arose in the sixties as a result of the crisis of revisionism, everything was not bad.

This movement was very heterogeneous and then, the camps were not as clearly demarcated as they are today.

It is for this reason that among the opportunist and petty-bourgeois elements there were mixed many honest and valuable men and women, true communists.

Alongside them, in recent years, I have focused all my attention and my efforts on the task of rebuilding the real Party which the working class of Spain needs and in developing its just Marxist-Leninist line. .

**Arenas has been accused of exercising a personal dictatorship in the Party, of eliminating anyone who does not share his opinions. In this context, how is the case of Pio Moa, expelled because of disagreement, explained?**

It is true that I have been accused of being a dictator and other things, not only lately but since the very moment I started to defend my opinions clearly and openly.

But you forget a "little detail". All those who launched this accusation against me left the Party themselves, all alone, no one accompanied them, from which it can be deduced clearly that I was not the only one to exercise the "dictatorship" , but the whole Party against a single opportunistic or disruptive element.

If you can call it a dictatorship! ... It was only after I left the Party that all these elements started to say that I am a dictator.

For all these people, if the Party - that is to say the vast majority of activists - does not accept their opinions after having discussed them extensively, for them, then, the Party is no longer the Party, but a group of morons who submit to someone's dictatorship.

Who is or aspires to become a dictator? The one who defends the right ideas and joins the majority or, on the contrary, the one who is wrong, pretends to confuse sowing discord and who wants to make the communist organization a bunch of good friends?

The case of Pio Moa is just one of many, with the only difference that this individual has made more noise than the others, thereby wanting to justify his meanness and his cowardice.

He started by talking about small mistakes, we paid attention to his reasoning and we chatted with him for two years!

Like what freedom of discussion does not exist in our ranks! But at the same time as total freedom of discussion, so that things are known and that we do not degenerate into a group of opportunists, there must also be unity of action!

So when Pio Moa became convinced that he would not be able to steer us on a wrong path and that he himself was dragged where he did not want to go, from that moment on, he began to lose control.

We then called him to order. His response was the demonstration of his deep contempt for all comrades, the clearest manifestation of his petty-bourgeois individualism and his anarchism of great lord.

You will understand that in our ranks we cannot compromise with these things and even less in the leading organs of the Party.

We have therefore decided to withdraw all his responsibilities and subject him to an observation period until he gives proof of his will to union and to correct his faults thoroughly.

Moa was waiting for this decision, he was waiting for him to be able to launch his direct attacks against the Party, against his political line, against his leadership and against me, which he had never done before.

Basically, in this whole case there is a question that Pio Moa shares with all the opportunists and that is what led him to collide with the Party: his renunciation of supporting, as a fundamental principle, the necessity of the revolutionary armed struggle to develop the mass movement and bring down fascism, pushing it back to gracious calendars "when the Party and the mass movement are more developed", the alibi used by all the opportunists to cover their desertion from revolutionary camp.

**What are the differences and commonalities that exist between the PCE (r) and organizations such as the Tupamaros, the Montoneros or the Red Army Fraction?**

Of these organizations and others like them, we know only what the legal press deigns to publish and you will understand that this is insufficient to make an informed judgment.

However, there are certain things which are very clear and on which we can give our opinion. Neither the Tupamaros, the Montoneros, nor the German Red Army Fraction are Marxist-Leninist workers' parties, nor do they consider themselves to be such.

What they come closest to is a popular revolutionary movement.

It remains to be seen what will become of these movements, although we cannot rule out the possibility that at least some of them will turn into veritable avant-garde parties.

We consider that when in Germany, Uruguay and Argentina the new revolutionary working class party arises, this process will not be completely independent of these movements, because there is no doubt that those who form them already constitute today , in a way, the vanguard of the struggle of these peoples.

They understood one of the main problems of our time: that only armed struggle will make these peoples truly free and that only this form of struggle will educate and clarify the revolutionary ranks.

Our Party fully understands the new phenomenon of the appearance of armed detachments in countries with relatively high economic development.

What differentiates us fundamentally from these detachments is that we have formed a Party which is based on the working class, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism and which foments and attempts to organize the popular resistance movement.

We started with the foundations, while these organizations did it in reverse.

This may be due to the fact that they have not fully understood - and this is of crucial importance - the new problems which present themselves to the contemporary revolutionary movement; they have understood what the so-called communist parties are and they want to make the revolution, but by tempting it, they have separated (let it be only temporarily) from Marxism-Leninism, from the only doctrine that can lead us to victory.

**Speaking of the Red Army Faction, would your suicide and that of some of you in Spanish prisons be possible like that of the German revolutionaries?**

Yes, why not, "suicide" is possible. And even more if we take into account the fact that the "grays" [the police] have occupied the prison and are walking in the corridors with machine guns in hand and that we are continually threatened with their intervention at the slightest manifestation of disagreement that we let us emit with the clearly fascist Regulations which govern the prison.

In this sense, an individual or collective "suicide" could be presented in another form although it should not be dismissed one of the type invented by the Nazis who govern Germany.

The only thing we can say about it is to repeat what we have already declared the martyrs of the revolution of the German anti-Nazi resistance: "If the news of a suicide was published, don't believe it not".

Revolutionaries can commit certain "follies", according to the common sense, but never that to put an end to their own life, because this is not revolutionary, but an act of cowardice.

**One has the impression that a series of "indisputable truths" of Marxism are undergoing a profound revision and in an objective crisis. Is Marxism-Leninism still fully relevant today? Have Marx, Engels and Lenin never been wrong? Are all quotes from books indisputable?**

Many people speak of the "crisis of Marxism", but very few dwell on the real crisis from which capitalism and revisionism suffers.

There is no doubt that a whole series of Marxist ideas and theses have lost their force.

But, on the other hand, no Marxist has said or can say that the great masters of scientific socialism were never wrong or that the quotes from their books are indisputable, because no one more than their own authors have them questioned and revised them many times.

There is nothing that is more contrary to Marxism than dogmatism, for this we Marxists, more than the text printed in books, we are attached to its revolutionary spirit.

Marxism-Leninism is in force in its fundamental principles because the objective conditions on which it is based have not fundamentally varied, at least in the capitalist society in which we live.

But life and society change, they are not immutable and that is why it is necessary that the Revolutionary Party always adapt its principles to the conditions which are constantly changing.

This is why I say that there is a series of things that it becomes necessary to revise, but that must be done from the point of view and of the revolutionary position of Marxism, not of bourgeois revisionist positions.

We, the PCE (r), are in the process of revising Marxism, not in the bourgeois way, but like real revolutionary Marxists, like Marx and Engels, like Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung revise the doctrine when necessary to adapt it to new times and new conditions.

**In Spain in 1977, is it possible to take power as in Russia in 1917?**

No, it is not possible and you have here an example of a revolutionary revision of Marxism.

We know that in Russia, the question of Power - which is the fundamental problem of any revolution - was resolved by insurrectional action.

In Spain, on the other hand, the popular masses will come to power after having waged a long revolutionary war; this is an intangible principle.

But conditions have changed and, therefore, the form of this violence.

This change is due to the economic and political conditions in which monopolism and its form of militaristic, police and reactionary power dominate.

We did not invent these conditions, any more than the forms of resistance of the popular masses which they generate.

We can understand that under these conditions, the revolutionary tactics, strategy and methods of struggle of the proletariat must necessarily change.

This is because there is no more bourgeois revolution to carry out, because the reaction will not be surprised by a general insurrection which would break out at a given time and because it will not allow the masses to collapse either. organize and peacefully concentrate their forces using bourgeois legality which, on the other hand, is already completely out of use for the proletariat.

### **Is the Single Party a concept applicable to today's complex reality?**

It depends on the type of party. This concept is inapplicable to the fascist parties, but not to the Party of the proletariat, because if the form of existence of the bourgeoisie is characterized by competition and selfishness, for the proletariat, unity is always more necessary.

For the working class, joining forces is a vital issue and it has a real interest in eliminating all competition within it.

It is to the extent that the working class achieves this objective that the creation of the single fascist party will be more difficult and only in this way can it end capitalism and build a society a thousand times more just.

The fact that we are for the unity of the working class in a single Party does not mean that we deny the existence of other parties which supervise workers and with whom, one day, we will be able to achieve a certain type of 'agreement.

We can say the same thing about other political forces that are not proletarian, who agree to march alongside the working class to bring down monopolism and create this new, more just type of society.

In this sense it can be said that after the revolution, for at least a certain period, the Working Class Party should not monopolize power; he will have to share it, but always ensuring hegemony.

After this period, sooner or later, the elimination of the bourgeoisie as a class will lead to the extinction of its own parties, the proletariat remaining the sole holder of Power.

We are not in favour of the revisionist theory of a socialism in which the exploiting classes and the working class cohabit because this is a booby-trap.

**Are not democratic centralism and internal discipline concepts in the name of which militants are excluded from decision-making?**

Listen, the bourgeoisie seems very concerned about this "marginality in the decisions of grassroots activists" and accuses the real communist parties of violating the principles of democracy. Does this concern not seem suspicious to you?

We are accused of being dictators and of excluding the basic activists from the most important decisions of the Party, but see the participation that the leaders of the so-called "democratic" parties gave to their militants in the famous "scheming of Moncloa ". And this is just one example.

These are the same parties which, with their shameful pacts not only completely disregarded the opinion of their bases but who laughed at the little confidence that those who voted for their candidates could have had in them at the last electoral masquerade. The Cortes, themselves, what did these gentlemen of the Cortes do?

These Cortes who according to the programs were going to be something like the center of all the important decisions taken in the country.

They do not even play the role of a cash register for monopoly decisions!

And did the famous constitution, something so important and which affects all citizens so directly, consult them? What do we know about her?

And it is more or less the same, not only in all capitalist countries.

Democratic centralism, to be applied to the functioning of the Revolutionary Party of the working class and even to the relations of rulers with the masses in a socialist society, is the only principle which can guarantee the full participation and control of the ruled over the rulers and prevent that these only become a clique of separate politicians opposed to the people.

It is true that certain communist parties and socialist countries have gravely attacked this principle of proletarian democracy, but that does not call into question the correctness of the



principle of the subjugation of the part in the whole, of the freedom of discussion and of the unity of action to achieve revolutionary and socialist goals.

As we have said on other occasions and practice has shown, our Party is a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic of bourgeois parties.

**How do you judge the current political situation after the "Moncloa Pact" and what role will the PCE (r) play in it?**

The "Moncloa Pact", the June 15 elections, the referendum and the constitution they are preparing are part of the same scene thought out and carried out by the right and the monopolies, with the active participation of domesticated opposition.

It is in this staging that the Spanish oligarchy and imperialism found the continuity of the regime resulting from the uprising of July 18

For PCE (r), things were very clear from the start. We were convinced that nothing essential was going to change or change until Fascism was brought down and the basic economic resources passed into the hands of the people.

But if for us these things are clear, that does not mean that it is the same for large popular sectors which could have believed in the promises of change.

Now, after the "Moncloa Pact", a great disappointment is emerging, some thought that Spain would have at least one parliament and that no one would be prosecuted for their political opinions.

But we didn't even get there.

The so-called parliament plays the same role as that played by the Cortes in Franco's time.

The PCE (r) and other genuinely democratic and patriotic organizations continue to be banned and their leaders imprisoned and are not talking about economic measures, unemployment, low wages, inflation, "anti-terrorist" laws that "They are preparing.

The result of this detachment will be seen very quickly. We can already observe it.

If it was relatively easy for the monopolists and their lackeys to organize their demagogic staging and to reach some agreements between them, at the expense of the interests of the masses, from now on, contrary to what they may have believed, this it will not be easy for them to maintain this staging on their feet; nor will they be able to fulfill the commitments they have made.

The development of the mass struggle will forbid them. As many other things have already prevented them from doing before.

Great attention will have to be paid to the outcome of union and municipal elections. They will be the test bed for the brand new democracy they have cooked in the palace, with the agreement of the staffs, the army and the bank.

In this context, the role of the PCE (r), and of other revolutionary and democratic forces can only increase.

From a political point of view, the PCE (r) came out very comfortable and more united since the bad patch; it was able to overcome the period when the demagoguery and the avalanche of illusions fabricated by the politicians inundated everything and when it was really difficult to go against the current.

The PCE (r) fulfilled its mission by unmasking the political manoeuvres of the big bourgeoisie which it has consistently fought against.

We will continue on this path, convinced that it is only in this way that we will succeed in gaining the sympathy and the support of the great masses which is, in the end, the only thing that matters to us.

### **How do you see the union situation?**

Contrary to what one might think, the situation of the working class trade union movement is very favourable. There is no powerful Union which allowed workers to put pressure on capital to defend their true interests.

But why deceive yourself? The existence of a union with these characteristics is impossible under the conditions of monopolism and that is why the working class has adopted the forms of struggle and organization adapted to this situation.

The powerhouses and other small unions which strive hard to create opportunist parties with the help of government, employers and imperialism, represent nothing and, in reality, they can only aspire to play the same role of police as the late CNS.

These small unions will give no result to the bourgeoisie. If, at another time, the union division of the working class was prejudicial to it, today, on the other hand, this extraordinary union atomization is favourable to it, because it demonstrates, among other things, the ineffectiveness of unions designed according to traditional patterns, adapted to totally different conditions; it proves that the bosses of this type have gone out of fashion and that, consequently, the spontaneous movement of the great masses is in the process of developing new forms of defense and action superior to the previous ones and in which the problem of unity does not appear, because this unity is the basis of this new movement.

In Spain, in this respect, we are ahead of other capitalist countries and this extraordinarily promotes the work of communism within the workers' movement.

### **What will happen with the union elections?**

In my opinion, the same thing will happen as on other occasions, that is to say that the real results will only be visible after the counting of the votes: they will be seen in the development of the movement of strike and in street protests for real improvements, a movement - as it is - that the so-called power stations are not going to lead.

This will not, however, prevent these plants from torpedoing it in all possible ways in order to deliver the workers with bound feet and fists.

Believe me, the possibilities offered by this unionism have been exhausted, as is parliamentarism.

Of course, the trade union struggle will continue, but by adopting different, increasingly political forms and corresponding organizational methods.

### **What alternative do you present and what is your strength in factories?**

The PCE (r) has always advocated boycotting elections to the Fascist Vertical Union and we will do the same now.

With regard to the incalculable number of centrals and unions seeking to divide the workers, experience has shown that we were right.

What remains of the vertical union? Nothing remains.

I can assure you that something similar will happen with these power stations organized under the protection and with official support so that they occupy the space left empty by the CNS.

The workers must actively boycott these scenes of the bourgeoisie and of the government and continue the magnificent tradition of holding democratic assemblies and electing commissions of delegates who negotiate with the employers and position of force.

Otherwise, there will never be real improvements in living and working conditions.

But it should be realized that both the assemblies and the delegate commissions are not forms of organization because they appear and dissolve with each conflict.

Delegate meetings and commissions are rather a democratic process of union struggle, a process that has already more than proven itself.

In applying and developing these processes, the most advanced workers in each factory at the workplace play a leading role.

It is in the interest of the working class and our Party that neither the power stations nor the police succeed in controlling these prominent men and women.

Therefore, they should not submit their candidacies to the "company offices", which is, more or less, what they are trying to create.

Against such police stations, we propose the organization of the proletarian vanguard of each factory in small circles of workers, closely linked to the Party, circles of which we could give continuity to the trade union movement and facilitate, at the same time political tasks of the Party.

As far as our forces in the factories are concerned, as I said earlier, they are weak, although for the moment this does not concern us too much. Precisely, in the current stage, one of our main objectives is to penetrate and create Party organizations in the main factories of the country and we are well persuaded to do so by applying the line that we have set for ourselves.